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ABSTRACT

The widening mismatch between the skills of the work force and the skill demands of the work place underlie the need for school restructuring. Fourth in a series, this document builds on and extends the issues discussed in the National Governors' Association's (NGA) previous publications and reports on case studies of early restructuring efforts initiated by five states. The report contains four sections. Section 1 provides an introduction, a definition of restructuring, a description of what states are doing, and a brief overview of the NGA's five-state study. Section 2 describes in detail restructuring initiatives in the five states: Maine, Washington, Massachusetts, Arkansas, and North Carolina. Section 3 focuses on how these states stimulated the restructuring efforts. The fourth section discusses school restructuring in the future within the context of expanding the initiatives mentioned in the second section. (JAM)

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STATE ACTIONS TO RESTRUCTURE SCHOOLS: FIRST STEPS

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The National Governors' Association Center for Policy Research is the research and development arm of NGA. The center is a vehicle for sharing knowledge about innovative state activities, exploring the impact of federal initiatives on state government, and providing technical assistance to states. The center works in a number of policy fields, including environment, health, training, education, and information management as well as economic development, trade, and agriculture.

STATE ACTIONS TO RESTRUCTURE SCHOOLS: FIRST STEPS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

v PREFACE

1 INTRODUCTION

1 What Restructuring Is
3 What States Are Doing
3 A Five-State Study

5 RESTRUCTURING INITIATIVES IN FIVE STATES

5 Maine: Restructuring Schools Project
6 Washington: Schools for the 21st Century
8 Massachusetts: The Carnegie Schools Program
9 Arkansas: Restructuring for Higher-Order Learning
11 North Carolina: The Lead Teacher Pilot
13 Summary

15 HOW STATES STIMULATE RESTRUCTURING

15 Initiating Restructuring
18 Supporting Change
26 New Kinds of Management
31 Focus on Results

35 RESTRUCTURING AND THE FUTURE

37 The Near Future: Expanding the Initiatives
39 The Long Run: Restructuring the System

TABLES

21 Examples of Waiver Requests
36 State Actions to Launch Restructuring

Preface

Since the release of *Time for Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education*, the National Governors' Association Center for Policy Research has worked with policymakers to promote state leadership in education. This is the fourth in a series of publications that focuses on restructuring the education system. It reports on case studies of early restructuring efforts initiated by five states.

State Actions to Restructure Schools: First Steps builds on and extends the issues discussed in NGA's previous publications. *Restructuring the Education System: Agenda for the 1990s*, by Michael Cohen, examines the rationale for restructuring; identifies features of the system that need restructuring; and discusses the policy implications for states. *Early Experience in Restructuring Schools: Voices from the Field*, by Richard Elmore, presents insights from a seminar attended by educators and policymakers representing districts and states throughout the country that have begun the restructuring process. *Restructuring in Progress: Lessons from Pioneering Districts*, by Jane David, presents case studies from school districts that have experience with restructuring and describes strategies and actions of district leaders that will be helpful to others interested in undertaking and supporting restructuring initiatives.

We are deeply indebted to more than one hundred individuals in Arkansas, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Washington who participated in interviews and enthusiastically offered their time and reflections on their experience. We particularly want to thank those who coordinated site visits in each of the states: Gloria Cabe and Marie Parker in Arkansas, Richard Card in Maine, Barbara Berns in Massachusetts, John Dornan in North Carolina, and Brian Benzel and Ronn Robinson in Washington. Susan Fuhrman of the Center for Policy Research in Education helped collect data in Washington. Gerry Feinstein and Mark Miller of NGA provided invaluable editorial assistance.

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Introduction

The future well-being of the nation depends on the ability of our education system to vastly increase the levels of knowledge and conceptual understanding of all students. Learning can no longer be defined as mastery of basic skills; success cannot be claimed for teaching only a small proportion of students how to use their minds. As the pace of change throughout the world quickens, the challenge to restructure the education system intensifies.

The President's Education Summit with the Governors in September 1989 underscored the need for rapid and radical change and gave new impetus to restructuring efforts. The President and the nation's Governors concurred that "simply more of the same will not achieve the results we need" and agreed that "we must make dramatic improvements in our education system." All Governors made a commitment to lead restructuring efforts in their states.

What Restructuring Is

Restructuring represents a very different approach to reform. It is a systemic approach that acknowledges the complexity of fundamentally changing the way schools are organized in order to significantly increase student learning. It shifts the focus of reform from mandating what educators do to looking at the results their actions produce. Restructuring requires many pieces of the system to change, including the following.

- ***Curriculum and Instruction*** must be modified to promote the acquisition of higher-order—not just basic—skills by all students. Subject matter and teaching that is now superficial, fragmented, and repetitious needs to change to emphasize applying skills, deep understanding, and cohesive knowledge. School goals and assessment tools must reflect these higher-order skills. Teaching strategies must actively engage students in thinking rather than relegating them to passive roles and rote learning. This requires increased flexibility in the use of instructional time, learning activities that are substantially more challenging and engaging, and

more varied grouping arrangements that go beyond conventional age-based groups and promote student interaction and cooperative efforts.

- *Authority and Decisionmaking* must be decentralized so the most educationally important decisions are made at the school-site, not at the central office or the state capitol. Teachers, administrators, and parents should work together to set the basic direction for the school and to determine the strategies, approaches, and organizational and instructional arrangements required to move in that direction.

- *New Staff Roles* must be developed so that teachers can more readily work together to improve instruction. New roles for teachers will enable effective teachers to support beginning teachers, to plan and develop new curricula, or to design and implement staff development programs. This is rarely possible under current arrangements where the teacher's role is largely limited to instructing and supervising students. Other staff roles also must change. Greater and more varied use of paraprofessionals may be considered. And innovations in staff roles will require even more of principals who must provide the vision to help shape new school structures and organizational arrangements, and the skill to lead talented teachers. Principals also must be willing to take risks in an environment that rewards performance rather than compliance.

  In district offices and state departments of education, restructuring requires analogous changes in roles. Administrators must shift from rule enforcement to assistance and, like teachers, anticipate continuous professional learning. Preparing educators for these new roles will require profound changes in professional preparation programs and in licensure and certification standards and procedures. Institutions of higher education must be prepared to respond to these challenges.

- *Accountability Systems* must clearly link incentives and rewards to student performance at the building level. Currently, accountability means holding schools responsible for complying with federal, state, and local rules and regulations. In the future, schools must have more discretion and

authority to achieve results and then be held accountable for them. States must develop measures to assess valued performance outcomes of individual schools and to link rewards and sanctions to results.

What States Are Doing

Many states are already tackling parts of the restructuring agenda, including efforts to increase flexibility, improve accountability systems, and stimulate school-based changes in curriculum and instruction. A spring 1989 survey (updated in January 1990) by the National Governors' Association indicated that thirty states had adopted or were implementing state-level initiatives to promote restructuring at the school or district level. However, states use the term "restructuring" to describe a wide variety of activities, only some of which fit the preceding definition.

Addressing all parts of the system in an integrated fashion has proven to be a more difficult challenge, largely because of the inherent complexity of the issues. Consequently, even states that view restructuring in broad, systemic terms are generally starting small with a limited set of strategies. Their approaches are quite different, yet many of these efforts have common elements such as focusing on a small number of schools or districts, financial assistance, and flexibility through waiving regulations.

A Five-State Study

To identify early lessons and policy implications, the National Governors' Association undertook a study of early restructuring efforts in five states: Arkansas, Maine, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Washington. These initiatives differ in many respects. They were introduced by different state leaders—Governors, chief state school officers, legislators, and even by those outside state government. They vary in funding, size, and duration. And of course the states differ in how they govern and support education.

But the similarities outweigh the differences. States share a conception of the magnitude of the problem to be solved

and what it takes to solve it. They also share the tensions and struggles inherent in initiating and managing a very new kind of reform.

The findings reported here are based on site visits to each of the five states by two interviewers between April and June 1989. This is early in the restructuring process. All the initiatives are multi-year efforts just begun during the 1988-89 school year when the study was conducted. Over a three-day period in each state, the interviewers spoke to state leaders including Governors, chief state school officers, legislators, and their staffs, state boards of education, representatives of state-level associations, and members of the business community. In every state the researchers either visited schools participating in the restructuring initiative or interviewed teams of teachers and principals (sometimes including superintendents, board members, and parents) from several schools.

The next chapter briefly describes each restructuring initiative as of spring 1989. Following these overviews is a discussion of what states are doing to stimulate restructuring and the important lessons that emerge from their early experiences. Information from follow-up conversations in January 1990 can be found in the discussion on expansion in the final section.

Restructuring Initiatives in Five States

Maine: Restructuring Schools Project

In rural Maine, a middle school is divided into teams of teachers and students who spend two years together. The teams have their own budgets and the flexibility to set their own schedules and goals within broad school goals. Discipline problems are down and student involvement in learning is up.

A small comprehensive high school has created a series of multidisciplinary courses that are designed around products created by teams of students. One combines science, technology, and social studies and has students actually rebuilding the shut-down shellfish industry in their town. Faculty are creating new ways of assessing students, including portfolios, and talking to colleges and universities about the implications of their changes for admission.

These schools are two of the ten grant recipients under the Restructuring Schools Project initiated by Maine's Department of Educational and Cultural Services (MDECS). The project began with a letter from the commissioner's office in the summer of 1987 inviting all interested schools to attend a half-day conference to hear about restructuring. More than 130 schools sent representatives, who were encouraged to create a vision for the future and significantly improve students' educational progress through an ongoing planning process based on the most recent research on teaching and learning.

Three schools would receive $50,000 grants for each of three years and seven schools would receive $10,000 grants intended primarily for planning; all would be eligible for waivers from state rules that interfere with implementing their plans. The number of interested schools dropped substantially after learning that participation would require support of 75 percent of the faculty, the superintendent and school board, as well as considerable time and effort. Those schools still interested began a year of collaborative planning before submitting their proposals. During this year, they attended a series of workshops about restructuring culminating with a question-

and-answer session in May after the request for proposals had been issued. Nineteen sites ultimately submitted proposals.

The deputy commissioner of MDECS coordinates the Restructuring Schools Project with the help of a steering committee he appointed, representing MDECS, the Maine University System, the Maine Teachers' Association, and others. The committee's role is to guide, facilitate, and learn from the sites—not to make policy.

The steering committee created the request for proposals and judged the proposals. The request for proposals asked schools to envision what their schools would look like in ten years, what students would know and be able to do, and how they would manage the ongoing process of change. Proposals were judged on their vision, planning process, organizational capacity, and implementation plan.

In addition to the year-long lead time for applicants to prepare, Maine's approach is unique in its use of existing funds. The $500,000 Restructuring Schools Project is funded with existing dollars for innovative programs authorized under the 1984 Reform Act because MDECS wanted to test the concept before requesting funds from the legislature.

Washington: Schools for the 21st Century

three teachers to extend the school year for the students who need a few extra weeks.

These are two of twenty-one projects funded under Washington's Schools for the 21st Century, enacted by the legislature in 1987 at the request of Governor Booth Gardner. The legislation authorizes funds to support ten additional days for teachers beyond the 180-day school year. Technical assistance and staff development are also funded. Schools for the 21st Century is described in the legislation as a pilot to determine whether increasing local decisionmaking authority will produce more effective learning. The bill allows applicants to request waivers from certain state statutes, administrative rules, local school district rules, and union contract provisions.

Although a few districts and consortia are included, most of the grants go to individual schools and range from roughly $60,000 to $200,000 per year depending primarily on the number of teachers whose contracts are extended for two weeks. Funding for the first year is just under $2 million.

Schools for the 21st Century is a six-year program intended to "encourage educational creativity, professionalism, and initiative" via the grants and waivers. The rules governing the program were jointly created by the office of the superintendent of public instruction and the state board, in consultation with the Governor's Task Force on Schools for the 21st Century, which consists of ten members appointed to six-year terms by the Governor and four legislators who are *ex officio* members.

Applicants had only a short time in which to prepare proposals. At the end of 1987, the superintendent of public instruction sent a letter to school and district administrators informing them of the legislation and the application process with a March 31, 1988, due date, which was later extended to April 27. The task force recommended a selection process and specific projects for funding that were approved by the state board on June 8 to begin in the fall of 1988.

Washington's Schools for the 21st Century places particular emphasis on the need for time, both for teachers to plan

and implement changes and for the restructuring activities to mature over a six-year period. It is explicitly intended to give state policymakers information about the extent to which regulations and statutes are barriers to reform.

Massachusetts: The Carnegie Schools Program

An alternative school with a history of parent involvement and collaborative decisionmaking is reorganizing its schedule to provide individual and joint planning time for teachers. The K-8 school envisions eventually extending its day to run from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., offering day care in the morning and categorical programs—including compensatory, bilingual, and special education—late in the afternoon. Next year the school will work with two other schools, helping them adopt a similar approach to collaborative planning and decisionmaking.

In a magnet middle school in Boston with a predominantly minority student body, each teacher is responsible for following closely a small group of students and communicating with their families. In one year student retentions have decreased from 130 to 40. Teachers are beginning to do peer observations, to learn about adolescent development and consensus building, and to discuss dividing the school into clusters as they end their planning year as a Carnegie school.

Inspired by the report of the Carnegie Forum's Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, the Carnegie Schools Program was one of the recommendations of a special commission established by the Massachusetts Legislature. In January 1988, the legislature enacted the Carnegie Schools Program to encourage management systems that increase autonomy and discretion for school staff and encourage innovative organizational strategies to enhance student learning. In the face of budget cuts, the program was approved with half the expected allocation—$250,000 instead of $500,000.

Prior to final passage of the bill, the Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation and Office of Community Education in the Massachusetts Department of Education began laying the groundwork for the Carnegie Schools Program. After the bill passed, school and district teams were invited to a series

of meetings to hear about the program. Thirty-eight proposals were submitted by the May 20 deadline to receive what was thought at the time to be $50,000 grants but turned out to be $30,000 grants. Seven schools were awarded grants at the end of June.

The Carnegie Schools Program meshes well with the school-based thrust of other statewide initiatives; since 1985 the legislature has supported school-based change via school-site councils. Similarly the department of education has focused its dropout prevention program on schoolwide systemic change and encouraged building-based support teams to support special education mainstreaming. With minimal funding, the Carnegie Schools Program also relies on other resources, including volunteer technical assistance from local organizations and growing serious involvement of the business community. Each Carnegie school has a carefully selected business partner who is developing a more intimate and intensive relationship than has typified past partnerships.

The Carnegie Schools Program is unusual in its origins—a product of the legislature, not the commissioner of education or the Governor. Nevertheless, it is administered in the department of education under a commissioner committed to restructuring not only the schools but also the department. As the Carnegie Schools Program moves from the commissioner's office to the associate commissioner for school programs, the philosophical shift from enforcement to assistance will begin to permeate department and regional staff. The regional centers will assume more responsibility and a very different role—that of brokering and coordinating services and resources for their regions akin to case managers instead of providing direct technical assistance.

Arkansas: Restructuring for Higher-Order Learning

An elementary school in rural Arkansas has only fifteen children in each class because of the elimination of pull-out programs, using approved federal models for delivering compensatory and special education services. With a high proportion of disadvantaged students, putting all categorical teachers in classrooms dramatically reduced class size and allowed

teachers to increase their effectiveness through individual and team coaching and cooperative learning. Increased teacher effectiveness was clearly demonstrated by significant achievement gains for students.

In a small-town high school, ninth-grade teachers are experimenting with a multidisciplinary team-teaching approach. Four teachers (two part time) meet with seventy-two ninth-graders for a three-hour block of time instead of fifty-five-minute classes. Each six weeks the focus is on a different country, united by themes that cross the disciplines of English, civics, cultural studies, and fine arts. Last year for the first time no ninth-grader dropped out of school, and overall achievement improved substantially.

These are two of the schools participating in the first wave of Arkansas' "Restructuring for Higher Order Learning," launched by Governor Bill Clinton at an invitational conference held in late 1987. Following statewide implementation of a new system of accreditation standards, state leaders invited teams from twenty districts that had clearly exceeded the new standards, had a history of innovation, and were geographically representative of the state. Fifteen districts accepted and sent teams of four to six people representing the central office, the school board, and a school.

The conference introduced the local teams to restructuring concepts through a series of presentations and workshops led by national experts and representatives of restructuring schools from across the country. State leaders offered some general guiding principles that emphasize commitment, higher-order learning, collegiality, multiple approaches, and accountability for outcomes. State officials also offered to review requests for exemptions from regulations. The director of the state department of education appointed a committee of three department staff and four local staff to review waiver requests.

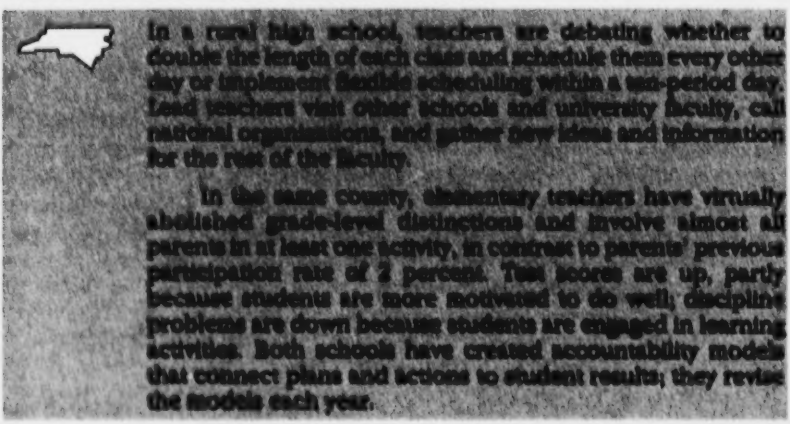
Inspired by the leadership of the Governor, the teams returned to their districts and, without any additional resources, began planning and implementing changes in their schools. For some, much of the first year was devoted to

planning; others implemented significant changes in roles and curriculum.

Meanwhile, several schools throughout the state were involved in similar kinds of activities through, for example, the Re: Learning Project sponsored by the Education Commission of the States and the Coalition of Essential Schools, and the Goodlad Project's Educational Renewal Consortium. Viewing these activities as compatible but alternative approaches to restructuring, the original fifteen "Schools for Higher Order Learning" were expanded to include them.

In June 1989, the end of the first year of the restructuring initiative, the director of the Arkansas Department of Education sent a letter to all superintendents with information on restructuring and how they might go about it in their districts. The letter was followed by a statewide conference for interested teams at which the Governor and the director spoke, followed by presentations from teams representing each of the first group of restructuring schools.

North Carolina: The Lead Teacher Pilot



In a rural high school, teachers are debating whether to double the length of each class and schedule them every other day or implement flexible scheduling within a ten-period day. Lead teachers visit other schools and university faculty, call national organizations, and gather new ideas and information for the rest of the faculty.

In the same county, elementary teachers have virtually abolished grade-level distinctions and involve almost all parents in at least one activity, in contrast to parents' previous participation rate of 2 percent. Test scores are up, partly because students are more motivated to do well; discipline problems are down because students are engaged in learning activities. Both schools have created accountability models that connect plans and actions to student results; they revise the models each year.

These schools are part of the Lead Teacher Pilot Program, which, unlike programs in the other four states, has its origins outside the state government. The Public School Forum of

North Carolina, a partnership of business, educational, and political leaders, created the concept of a lead teacher pilot based on the report of the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. Funding for the two-year pilot was authorized by the general assembly in 1987 to begin in fall 1988. Working with the state department of public instruction and local educators interested in testing the lead teacher approach, the forum oversees the implementation of the pilot in three county systems. The concept behind the forum's involvement is that it assumes the role of "think tank." The legislature's intent was that if the lead teacher pilot were successful, the department of public instruction would assume responsibility for managing the program and its expansion.

The legislation authorized a total budget of $450,000, which provides a 15 percent salary increment and a half-time teaching load for one lead teacher out of every twelve teachers and $300 for staff development for each teacher. The bill also provides flexibility to schools, and states that schools should not be inhibited by state statute or policy. The state board formally endorsed this concept.

In contrast to most differentiated staffing plans, the unique feature of the pilot is that each school's faculty creates a job description for their lead teachers and determines how they will be chosen. In addition, each school creates its own accountability model tailored to its own particular goals. Models include measures of student outcomes and employee satisfaction.

After several months of meetings and discussions with forum staff and among themselves, faculties of six schools and their central office staff agreed to participate in the pilot. With a long history of strong state regulation, both district and school staff were initially skeptical about the promise of flexibility. During the first year, each school developed a method of selecting lead teachers and a unique set of responsibilities for them. As a result, lead teachers do clinical supervision, demonstrate new techniques, review curriculum options, analyze performance data, and provide new channels for communication.

Taking advantage of the new flexibility, they use teaching assistants for clerical support and reassign teachers according to interest and expertise instead of formal certification.

Before the end of the second year, the pilot expanded in another unanticipated way. After describing what was involved and what the two pilot schools had accomplished during their first year, one superintendent involved in the pilot invited all the schools in the district to adopt the lead teacher model. But there was one big difference—no additional funds were available. As of the end of the school year, at least 75 percent of the faculty in seven of the ten schools not involved in the pilot voted to participate.

Summary

These five state initiatives share the goal of restructuring their school systems to prepare students to be productive citizens in the twenty-first century. Although the details differ, as do the economic and political circumstances of each state, all five states are developing ways to stimulate restructuring activities in their schools.

The restructuring initiatives differ in many respects: who proposed the initiative, the level of financial and technical resources, selection procedures, the size and duration of the effort, how the initiatives are managed, and their plans for the future.

However, the initiatives are similar in their attempts to stimulate new ways of organizing teaching and learning by providing leadership, opportunity, and flexibility directed toward improving student performance. These efforts have resulted in new roles in schools, in districts, in state agencies, and in new relationships with the business and higher education communities.

States are experimenting with waivers as one way of granting flexibility and are discovering that waivers are not being used in expected ways. States are inventing new ways of allocating scarce resources. They are struggling to find ways to bring new ideas, knowledge, and assistance to schools. States are looking at the need to restructure their own educa-

tion agencies and promote new relationships among state policymakers in education.

The sample of schools in the study, and written descriptions of the other schools, suggest that many—but not all—of the schools understand the meaning of restructuring and are beginning a long-term process of change focused on student outcomes. But this reflects their status at the end of one school year. States, districts, and schools are learning as they go along. The themes and early lessons from the first year of restructuring are discussed in the following chapters.

How States Stimulate Restructuring

Each of the five states initiated restructuring activities in response to mounting evidence that their future economic health rests on the ability of their schools to prepare students for the twenty-first century. Whether their economies were based on technology or agriculture, state political, education, and business leaders agreed that the magnitude of the problem required a new kind of response going well beyond previous approaches to education reform. Leaders in the five states then faced the challenge of how best to stimulate this new kind of reform called restructuring. With no historical precedents, each state had to start from scratch. No one began with a clear idea of what restructuring meant, let alone how to implement it.

As the states proceed with their restructuring initiatives, they are encountering the complexity of systemic change. As they try to lead, manage, and support initiatives unlike any they have had in the past, state leaders find themselves doing what they are asking of their schools—inventing, experimenting, and refining as they go along. They are demonstrating new kinds of leadership by describing the challenge and their vision of how schools must change to meet the challenge, and by emphasizing the urgency to take action. They are experimenting with new management structures and struggling with the problems of changing existing structures and roles. They are seeking to meet the need for new kinds of support with limited financial and technical resources.

As the previous chapter illustrates, each state charted a different course in initiating local restructuring activities. Yet there are steps that all five states needed to take. Although the form, order, and timing varied, all tested ways to stimulate local ingenuity and problemsolving, to support change with limited resources, and to manage in ways that are appropriate to the new goals and approaches of restructuring.

Initiating Restructuring

Spreading the Word. The state leaders who launch restructuring initiatives begin by spreading the word about the need

for restructuring and visions of what restructuring means. For example, Arkansas, Maine, and Massachusetts held conferences and workshops for school systems interested in pursuing restructuring, which provided opportunities for local educators to hear a variety of perspectives from state and national experts on restructuring to increase student learning.

By creating opportunities to discuss publicly the problems related to restructuring, state leaders generate interest in the need to rethink how schools are organized.

They guide schools, districts, and their state-level colleagues with new images and a new vocabulary that reflect the changing demands of the economy. Their rhetoric communicates that restructuring is unlike previous reforms. State leaders speak of a "new wave of reform" with "more grassroots decisionmaking," "less bureaucracy, paperwork, and unnecessary layers of management," a "focus on results instead of mandating how to get there," and their belief that "all students can learn." In all five states, their messages are echoed by leaders of business and industry.

Invitation to Invent. State-initiated restructuring activities begin with a formal invitation to schools or districts to step back and rethink how they operate. The most common form of invitation is a grants competition, as in Maine, Massachusetts, and Washington. Or it can simply be an opportunity to volunteer, with or without state-defined eligibility criteria. For example, Arkansas limited the eligible pool to schools meeting recently implemented state standards.

The invitation can come from the Governor, the legislature, the chief state school officer, or an outside agency. It is an invitation to local educators to look at how they could be better organized to give all students the kinds of applied basic and analytic skills needed for today's world.

The critical difference between these invitations to restructure and the usual grants competition or special project is the promise of flexibility. In all five states, relief from certain rules and regulations is integral to restructuring and is viewed as prerequisite to significant change in schools. Hence, each invitation carries with it some form of increased flexibility,

typically provision for waivers from state regulations. The offer of flexibility communicates a new message to recipients. Schools have frequently been asked to change in particular ways, but they have never been asked to create their own vision of change unconstrained by existing regulations.

Selecting Participants. All five states are following a strategy of starting with a few sites, ranging from six in North Carolina to twenty-one in Washington. Whether through a grants competition or an opportunity to volunteer, selection criteria tend to be explicitly or implicitly slanted toward those judged likely to succeed. Those who succeed are in a position to guide and assist others; moreover, there is more to be learned from what works than from what fails at this stage. It is also more politically appealing to "reward" already successful schools. Although other schools may be more in need of restructuring, they may also need more assistance in the process.

Selection of grant recipients from the applicant pool is made by groups representing a range of constituencies—Maine's steering committee, Washington's task force, and Massachusetts' technical committee. These groups tend to seek schools whose history and plans reflect a focus on student achievement and clear evidence of the involvement of teachers. For example, Maine and North Carolina require the approval of 75 percent of the faculty. Criteria also include school-site leadership, specific evaluation plans, and a willingness to go beyond the usual. Factors such as geographic distribution, participation in other programs, and demographic variation may be informally considered in selecting the final set. Where some constituency—such as teachers or administrators—is not represented on the selection group, extra effort is required to gain their support for restructuring.

In most cases, states invite schools rather than districts to participate, though the invitation might go through the district as in Arkansas and North Carolina. In all cases, districts must sign off on the school's application. In some cases, the teachers' union must agree as well. In Washington, four of Schools for the 21st Century grants go to districts. In part, the focus on schools reflects the underlying philosophy of restruc-

turing—the school is the unit of change. State officials also prefer to concentrate their limited resources on individual schools rather than spreading them thinly across many. This raises questions about the role of the district in state-initiated restructuring initiatives, which is discussed later.

Supporting Change

Creators of the restructuring initiatives in all five states believe that schools cannot significantly change how they operate without the flexibility to circumvent existing rules and regulations. In varying degrees, state leaders also recognize the importance of time needed for restructuring. This is reflected in the time frame for their initiatives and the provision of time for teachers to participate in restructuring activities. From their early experiences with the selection process and waiver provisions, state leaders are learning the kinds of knowledge and assistance educators must have.

Restructuring requires the freedom, the time, and the know-how to change. Time and assistance ultimately translate into the need for additional resources—financial and technical. All five states face the need to provide time for school faculties and the delivery of new kinds of assistance and training despite tight budgets and limited technical resources.

Flexibility. Granting flexibility in exchange for accountability for results is integral to restructuring. All five state restructuring efforts offer flexibility by allowing participants to request waivers from regulations.

The procedures for granting waivers tend to be cumbersome in every state, operating on a slow, case-by-case basis. The process is further complicated by lack of clarity over what rules can be waived and who has the authority to approve waivers from different sources, such as local, state, and federal rules, regulations, statutes, or contract provisions. The answers vary from state to state depending on their constitutional provisions and governance structure. But all struggle with this issue as different state entities—the Governor's office, the legislature, the state board, and the department of

education—initiate and oversee restructuring and decide about waivers.

In every state, local educators requested very few waivers early on. Initially this led some state officials to conclude that the rules had been used as an excuse and were not really barriers to change. They later revised their conclusion as they learned more about the process of restructuring in the schools.

From the schools' perspective, a number of reasons account for the paucity of requests for exemptions from rules. First, the promise of flexibility is so new to most local educators that they need opportunities to test it before they stop looking for a hidden agenda ("What do they want? What do they really want?") and trust the offer. This skepticism is particularly true where districts and schools are accustomed to strong regulatory control.

State leaders quickly discovered that it takes people a while to learn that they can go beyond existing boundaries. As one respondent noted, "When you open the door of the bird cage after ten years, it takes the bird a long time to find the open door." It also takes access to new ideas and knowledge to create new learning environments. This discovery required an immediate change of plans in Washington's Schools for the 21st Century, where state leaders expected schools to include their waiver requests in the original application. Schools may now submit requests to the state board of education at any time.

State and school staff are also learning that it is extremely difficult to point to a handful of individual rules that interfere with more effective teaching and learning practices. Rather, the cumulative effect of many regulations built up over the years has caused an ingrained way of thinking and operating. For this reason, many educators focus on compliance instead of student performance. For example, one state discovered it required twenty-eight different annual plans from its schools. It is the complex array of restrictions that have conditioned thinking and actions, not necessarily an identifiable subset that interferes with implementing a particular course of action.

Another major reason for the small number of waiver requests is that many barriers to change are not state rules. Often the main restrictions on schools are created locally by the school board, by the union contract, or by officials unwilling to go against years of practice. In one school, staff spoke of waivers they had requested that had become bogged down in the district accounting office where administrators were unwilling to change their practices. Or the rules come from—or are thought to come from—the federal government. Schools operate under a combination of real and mythical rules that have gone unquestioned for years.

Some barriers to school change may not be related to rules at all. For example, one major barrier to any change in school schedule can be the transportation system. Another major barrier to reorganizing students in larger or smaller groups can be the architecture of the building.

School staff are reluctant to request waivers for other reasons. In some schools, faculty fear that the waivers will be temporary and they will find themselves in trouble down the line. Not surprisingly, waivers are requested less often in states with fewer regulations. But even in states with heavily regulated schools, the first year of restructuring usually results in few requests for waivers.

When waivers are requested early on, they tend to be for minor modifications in time requirements—for example, exemptions from minutes of contact time to free teachers to meet together. In middle and high schools, subject-area certification requirements for teachers and course requirements for students pose problems for team teaching cross-disciplinary classes. In elementary schools, federal, state, and local regulations governing bilingual, compensatory, and special education constrain options for organizing programs and utilizing staff in different ways. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1
EXAMPLES OF WAIVER REQUESTS

- Use textbook money for books and materials not on the approved list.
- Combine three high school classes into a three-hour block of time.
- Allow teachers professional leave time during the school year.
- Allow an elementary certified teacher to teach with a ninth-grade team.
- Allow secondary teachers to teach subjects other than their certified subject in order to participate on a multidisciplinary team.
- Shorten the high school day to allow time for forty-minute special topic seminars for small mixed grade groups taught by teachers, administrators, and clerical staff.
- In order to provide additional time for teachers to meet and plan:

  —Reduce student contact hours;

  —Hire a full-time substitute; and

  —Set aside full days without students for teachers.
- Ignore state curriculum guidelines in order to implement a cross-disciplinary curriculum.
- Ignore class size limits to allow large classes for certain presentations freeing teachers to have small discussion groups.
- Remove grade-level restrictions on the use of paraprofessionals to enable schools to use them as needed.
- Ignore requirements for specified minutes of instruction by subject area to allow more flexibility in how time is spent.
- Redefine high school credits to permit credits for cross-disciplinary courses.

Despite the fact that schools have not exercised their waiver options as much as states expected, the opportunity remains a critical component of the invitation to schools to restructure. In every state, schools welcomed the waiver provision; it signaled a new kind of request from their states—not another mandate or project. Ironically, waivers may not result in significantly increasing flexibility per se, but may still play a critical role in communicating what restructuring is about and encouraging school faculties to think more broadly about reform. And in the process, states learn more about the barriers to change and what it takes to break them down.

Time. Time is a critical resource to local educators. Restructuring asks teachers, principals, and district administrators to change the way they think about and perform their jobs. And this requires time—not simply time at the front end to devise a plan, but time built into the job to continuously learn, invent, discuss, experiment, reflect, and adapt. Each state has acknowledged the need for time in one or more of the following ways: lead time for preparing proposals, funds to free teachers' time, and time to fully implement plans.

Schools in Maine's Restructuring Schools Project had a full year's lead time before proposals were due, during which several conferences and information sessions were held. In Arkansas and Massachusetts the timing of the start-up was such that schools had very little lead time. As a consequence, state leaders took a realistic view and considered the first year a planning year for the schools that needed it.

North Carolina and Washington make substantial financial investments in time for teachers. The Lead Teacher Pilot releases each lead teacher half time. Schools for the 21st Century supports ten extra days for every teacher.

School faculties also need time to develop, create school-wide support for, and implement the changes they desire. Reaching agreement on restructuring plans requires considerable discussion among school staff and the larger school community. The more radical the plans for change, the more time and preparation it takes to implement them.

A major challenge facing state leaders of restructuring is how to stimulate new ways of thinking about change as an ongoing process that can survive under old ways of funding projects and judging success—a specified dollar amount, time period, and outcome measure. Time frames for restructuring initiatives tend to be vague or tied to the way in which they are authorized and funded. Washington's Schools for the 21st Century is an exception, intended from the outset to last six years although dependent on biennial appropriations.

Accountability for results is a critical component of restructuring, but the flip side is the risk that new arrangements will be judged prematurely. Restructuring asks legislatures and the public, accustomed to one- or two-year time frames, to wait longer before passing final judgment. None of the five initiatives pressures sites to show immediate results, although, as is discussed later, other state accountability demands may communicate this pressure.

Access to Knowledge. Knowledge encompasses new ideas, research findings, subject area knowledge, curriculum, and instruction as well as group decisionmaking and other skills needed to take on new roles. The importance of knowledge in restructuring is evident in the backgrounds of participating sites. The most inventive proposals tend to come from schools that have had some experience with innovative programs or networks that have exposed them to new ideas and provided experience in collaborative planning. State leaders describe this as a "readiness" for restructuring not yet present in all or even most schools.

Not surprisingly, these schools with a "head start" appeared to be the ones making the most progress in restructuring during the first year. For example, in Maine for several years six of the ten grantees were involved in the University of Southern Maine/Goodlad partnership, which had stimulated exchanges of ideas and information and discussion among staff. Building on this experience, Maine leaders hope to engage all their university campuses in establishing regional networks as prerestructuring activities for schools. In Massachusetts, schools already had site councils and many were part of a professional development network. In Arkansas

several schools were previously part of an effective schools network that helped prepare them for restructuring.

Almost all the schools that were well on their way to restructuring had key information sources—the principal, the librarian, one or more teachers, the superintendent, one or more consultants, or a network of other schools. This source provided faculty with articles and background on restructuring in general, information on specific instructional strategies and organizational arrangements, and the ideas and experiences of others. For example, in Arkansas one principal demonstrated and explained to teachers the philosophy, methods, and materials of three different approaches to teaching reading, allowing them to make a fully informed choice. In a Washington high school, the librarian kept a flow of research articles going to teachers. In North Carolina, an elementary school hired an expert in cooperative learning from a nearby university to work with teachers in their classrooms once a month.

Providing the knowledge and assistance needed by restructuring schools poses a real challenge to states. Few state education agency staff and faculty of higher education institutions are accustomed to offering the kinds of practical, sustained assistance schools require—assistance that cuts across traditional boundaries and encompasses both content and process.

Creative Use of Limited Resources. State actions to stimulate local restructuring activity are not necessarily costly thus far. Arkansas' restructuring initiative has no funds associated with it. Maine and Massachusetts spend a little over $200,000 per year—$30,000 per school in Massachusetts and either $50,000 or $10,000 per school in Maine.

North Carolina and Washington are investing on the average roughly $75,000 to $100,000 per school per year. Their costs are somewhat higher because they are paying for the time it takes for some or all of the teachers to gather information, plan, and assist other teachers. On a per pupil basis, however, this is not a costly approach.

Along with Massachusetts, the legislatures in North Carolina and Washington authorized new funding for their restructuring initiatives. Maine took a different approach. The department is using existing program funds initially and eventually hopes to include statewide restructuring costs as part of the basic education budget.

None of the five states is incurring significant administrative costs since none has any state-level staff assigned exclusively to its restructuring initiative. Management and administrative functions are carried out by contributed time (such as those on Maine's steering committee and on the Governor's task force in Washington) or absorbed by staff with multiple other responsibilities.

Throughout the country, state and local staff are seeking additional resources. The business community is a major player in all five states, contributing everything from leadership and support at the state level to direct service at the local level. Partnerships between schools and businesses reflect a serious commitment by local businesses to get to know the schools' needs and the ways they can help. One local chamber of commerce is lending consulting expertise on the management of change. Other businesses are providing training in management and group process skills, running meetings, and providing leadership.

States also are stretching scarce resources by making connections between existing state and local programs and their restructuring initiatives. In North Carolina, schools realigned a state-required evaluation process with their restructuring efforts. In Maine, certification teams, professional development, and local lead teacher programs support restructuring. Similarly, Arkansas and Massachusetts are infusing the philosophy of restructuring throughout other programs managed by their departments of education.

It is misleading to suggest that restructuring does not require financial support because the needed time and access to knowledge ultimately translate into dollars. States are generally minimizing increased investment through strategies that reallocate existing resources at the state, district, and

building level and strategies that exploit resources external to the school system such as universities and businesses.

New Kinds of Management

Traditional governance and administrative arrangements are not well suited to restructuring efforts. State departments of education are accustomed to the role of generating and enforcing regulations, not to the role of nurturing and assisting long-term school restructuring. State leaders are seeking new management structures, discovering the need to restructure their departments of education, and reconsidering the role of districts in state-initiated school restructuring.

New Mechanisms. None of the five states has taken the traditional route of establishing a "restructuring" program office within its state department of education. State leaders recognize that creating a separate organizational unit with its own mini-bureaucracy would undermine the very philosophy restructuring embodies. They are faced with the challenge of managing, nurturing, and protecting the initiatives while beginning to rethink how their state agencies are structured.

Each state is trying a different arrangement. The steering committee in Maine and the Governor's task force in Washington are new entities created to participate in the selection of the projects; however, they are made up of people with full-time jobs. In North Carolina the administering body is the Public School Forum, which is independent of state government. In Arkansas one staff member in the department of education is assigned to work with the restructuring schools, among other responsibilities. In Massachusetts, management of the pilot is in transition from the commissioner's office, where the directors of community education and of planning and evaluation shared responsibility for it, to the associate commissioner for school programs and, in turn, to the regional offices.

Each of these approaches has strengths and weaknesses. Newly created bodies can have the strong advantage of understanding and supporting restructuring; they do not carry the history and expectations of existing agencies. On the other

hand, as new players they do not have the same breadth and depth of political support. And they are hampered by lack of time and remuneration. If they are the only defenders of the restructuring initiative, progress rests on their ability to create and maintain a broad base of support.

Managing a restructuring initiative inside the department of education may be advantageous as it becomes part of the education establishment. But this, too, carries risks. A separate office for restructuring can distinguish it from the traditional regulatory philosophy of the agency but its separateness may limit its ability to influence the rest of the agency. A separate office may also begin to take on the characteristics of a traditional program office. Department of education leaders are attempting to minimize these risks by consciously avoiding the creation of a specific program office responsible for restructuring.

In each state these new arrangements have varying degrees of success depending on how broadly based support for restructuring is and how well lines of communication among all the players work. Where the Governor has initiated the restructuring efforts, creating and maintaining support from the legislature and the state department of education is an ongoing challenge. Where new entities manage the restructuring initiative, their long-term strength lies in maintaining alliances across all the branches of state government and education stakeholders. When restructuring is managed inside the department of education, the process of infusing a new philosophy across existing program and functional boundaries is slow and painstaking.

Those who have initiated their restructuring pilots are quickly seeing the importance of ensuring that the other interested parties become part of the restructuring enterprise. But this insight does not make it an easy task. Just as those who take the lead in school restructuring efforts need to spend considerable time bringing the rest of their faculties along, state initiators of restructuring need to keep their colleagues and other education stakeholders informed about what restructuring means and what is happening.

New State Agency Roles. State leaders recognize that most schools need some kind of assistance in restructuring. With limited exposure to alternative ways of organizing schools and research on learning, school faculties need sources for new ideas and new practices. Staff development opportunities still tend to be the one-shot workshop variety, which is not sufficient to prepare teachers and administrators to function in significantly different ways. In most cases, neither districts nor the higher education system is accustomed to providing the type of assistance and professional development required.

As state departments of education shift emphasis from compliance to performance, they must develop the capacity to provide assistance. Analogous to restructuring of schools, state departments of education are faced with redefining their mission and correspondingly their organization and the roles of their staff. For most agencies that have operated for decades as rule enforcers, this shift is both difficult and traumatic. Few states have the resources to help with this transition. Even when the leadership is strong in this direction, it is a mammoth undertaking to reeducate staff whose skills, like those of teachers, need to be updated to meet today's needs.

To begin this process, leaders of state agencies are beginning to infuse the philosophy of restructuring throughout existing programs and rethinking how they utilize staff. For example, the Massachusetts Department of Education is aligning several different programs with restructuring so that the concept of ongoing schoolwide school-based change is reinforced through several different avenues. The department funds only dropout programs that are integrated into the regular school program, and focuses special education on school-based teams that support mainstreamed students. In Arkansas the department of education staff person responsible for restructuring now manages a much larger division that includes staff development, personnel evaluation, leadership development, and education partnerships. As a result, the restructuring philosophy will begin to be reflected in each of these program areas.

State agency leaders are looking to other models of delivering services such as the use of a case manager, in which staff broker and coordinate assistance to schools rather than provide it directly. Staff also are seeking and coordinating volunteer assistance to schools from the business and lay community. State agency staff are beginning to contemplate limiting monitoring to situations that require it. For example, instead of automatically monitoring every district every year, they wait until problems trigger the need and devote the freed resources to responding to needs for training and assistance. As one state board member noted: "We make the rules for the 5 percent who need them, not the rest."

District Role. State restructuring efforts focus predominantly on individual schools, yet districts play a major role in what happens in their schools. This raises questions for state leaders about the appropriate district role and their relationship to the state on one side and restructuring schools on the other.

Ultimately, local boards and superintendents determine the degree to which school staff can change their organizations. District leadership can lead, simply support, or actually undermine the efforts of individual schools to restructure. Similarly, teacher organizations can be allies of or barriers to change, especially when contract language limits flexibility.

Because local education agencies, not individual schools, are legal entities, states cannot bypass district authority and regulation in granting flexibility to individual schools. States ask schools that want to participate in the restructuring effort to provide evidence that the school board and local union (where there is collective bargaining) will support their efforts. However, such sign-offs do not ensure that a participating school will have significant decisionmaking authority. And it certainly does not ensure that districts will go the extra step of supporting the efforts of school faculties to waive state and federal rules.

Most schools in state restructuring efforts do have considerable decisionmaking authority, although, more often than not, the authority is derived from the support and trust of the superintendent and the school board rather than formally

delegated. Whether schools have lump-sum budgets or school-site councils or neither, superintendents or boards can raise barriers to restructuring efforts or simply not help when needed. For example, changes in school calendar or schedule have implications for districtwide services, such as transportation, food, and maintenance. Hence restructuring schools need help and support from their districts.

Few of the schools in this study encountered serious resistance from their districts or teacher organizations. Superintendents generally are either leaders of restructuring or tacit supporters, though there are examples of obstructionists. For example, one school created a new multidisciplinary curriculum that proved effective, yet two of the teachers were reduced to part-time status as part of the small district's need to reduce the budget. In another school, the categorical program restrictions thought to be of federal or state origin turned out to be immutable district procedures.

In far more districts, the superintendent is a strong force in leading a school's restructuring effort. These superintendents actively help their schools understand what restructuring means and direct additional resources to helping them. They also view their role as representing their schools to the state; as one superintendent described it: "Flexibility means that the central office runs interference." Typically, these superintendents also invest time in sharing information about restructuring with the other schools in the district. Not surprisingly, such districts tend to have fewer than twenty schools.

Similarly, local teacher organizations tend to exhibit much more flexibility than their state-level associations. Yet they do not abdicate their role of protecting teachers. For example, in one district the teachers' organization insisted that the entire faculty vote on any waiver request and then solicited feedback from every teacher who voted against the request. This was perceived on both sides as a way of protecting teachers.

Focus on Results

The goal of restructuring is to increase student performance. Flexibility for school faculties to redesign curriculum and instruction to meet this goal is coupled with responsibility for the results they produce. The flexibility to focus on results instead of compliance is therefore inseparable from accountability for the results.

Each state is struggling with ways to hold school faculties responsible for results without undermining the flexibility and time needed to implement significant changes. They are making progress in asking schools to evaluate their goals, but they are stymied in matching their own statewide accountability systems to the goals of restructuring. They face the challenge of maintaining a state-level information system that describes the "big picture" while supporting school-based accountability systems that provide teachers with valuable data, but, by their nature, vary from school to school.

Accountability for Results. The state initiatives require schools to evaluate their progress and effects on students. Each encourages schools to select and create measures that match their particular goals for restructuring. At the same time, states send a clear message that they do not expect immediate improvements because of the time-consuming and complex nature of getting restructuring off the ground.

Increased flexibility, a focus on results, and time before final judgment is passed can have a dramatic effect on teachers' uses of data. In most schools, where teachers are given the freedom to redesign their programs, they assume responsibility for student outcomes because they have a personal stake in it. To teachers, this approach represents a significant improvement over a system where most decisions are determined outside the school yet staff inside the school are held accountable. It represents a much better match between the locus of decisionmaking and accountability.

As a consequence, teachers in restructuring schools have a very different attitude toward data. Instead of viewing data as irrelevant, they are curious about whether their actions result in changes in test scores, attendance, attitudes, and

other outcomes of interest. Teachers collect and inspect data because they are getting answers to questions they have generated. Teachers want to know: "Does what I'm now doing work better for students?" School teams cited examples of evaluation data and most remarked that it was the first time they had been interested in data or even looked closely at test scores. Teachers and principals also ask more sophisticated questions of data than is typically the case because they are interested in whether changes affect certain groups of students more or less than others; for example, do low-scoring students benefit as much as high-scoring students.

In North Carolina's Lead Teacher Pilot, consultants work with a group of teachers in each school to develop their own school-based accountability model, which is an integral part of restructuring the school's program. Development begins with discussions of what factors affect student achievement, which of those they can influence, and how they would use this information in designing an educational program. They then list the most significant aspects of the program, an appropriate measure for each, and a plan for who will do the measurement, who will summarize the results, how they will be shared, and the timeline. The model is revised annually. Although the models vary from school to school, each includes multiple measures of achievement, dropout rates, attendance, and staff morale.

In Maine the steering committee has made evaluation the focus for the second and third years of the project. To launch the process, the steering committee has made a first cut at translating each school's vision into a set of expectations for what students will be able to do. It is asking the schools to select those expectations that are critically important and design an evaluation scheme that links the expected skills, knowledges, and attitudes with specific methods of assessment. Schools are encouraged to revise their vision statements if important outcomes are absent.

Occasionally, the kinds of data collected by the state overlap with the data teachers find useful. But this is usually the exception, due to the nature of state data needs and the slow turn-around time associated with state testing programs.

Test data is useful to teachers when the results are immediately available and can be inspected in summary form, in disaggregated form, and individually.

State Accountability Systems. States face a serious bind in matching their approach to accountability with their restructuring initiatives: current assessment instruments and accountability mechanisms do not support the goals of restructuring.

State leaders of restructuring initiatives have not taken on their statewide testing or accountability systems, although many acknowledge the mismatch between testing programs and desired educational outcomes. One reason is the absence of alternative assessment instruments; another is that those most concerned with the state's interest in accountability are not necessarily those leading the restructuring effort.

Traditional methods for assessing results, namely, multiple-choice tests, are not suited to the goals for education embodied in restructuring—the ability to think, to solve problems, to do things. The issue is not that the tests do not measure important goals; it is that assessment dictates what teachers do. Consequently, paper-and-pencil tests narrow the curriculum by focusing attention on a small subset of skills. Restructuring is caught in a time warp between traditional paper-and-pencil tests and yet-to-be-developed measures that better match the goals of restructuring.

At the same time, however, states face the need to raise revenue from a public accustomed to immediate results in a familiar form—namely, multiple choice tests. The public will not continue to invest in education without demonstrable returns on their investment. State leaders are struggling with ways to balance the public appetite for test scores with their negative effects on the curriculum.

The five states in the study vary considerably in the extent to which existing or developing state accountability systems are at cross-purposes with their restructuring initiatives. But all face the challenge of raising revenue, creating new ways of assessing more demanding goals, and developing a manage-

ment system that meets the needs of both state policymakers and individual school faculties.

Lines of Communication. Change is confusing and stressful; therefore communication is critical at the state level as well as the school level. Because restructuring cannot be described in a few words and assessed solely by test scores, restructuring leaders are seeing the need to promote more communication between restructuring schools and the public, legislators, boards of education, and the business community. Descriptions of what is changing and why do not replace the need for solid outcome data down the line, but they help alleviate fears. They also provide an opportunity for policymakers and the public to hear good news about education, which they rarely hear through the usual channels of communication.

This theme is recapitulated at the school level. Restructuring is typically led by a small group of teachers who learn early on the importance of keeping the rest of the faculty informed and involved as they develop and revise plans. If the distance between the leaders and the rest of the faculty grows too large, problems are inevitable. Parents are also leery of change; they too need to be kept informed as changes are implemented that affect their children. One school has a volunteer "video saint" who videotapes classroom activities on a regular basis that are then shown on the local cable channel.

Communication among restructuring schools forms vital links for learning from each other and for moral support. Similarly, open lines of communication among schools within a district helps narrow the distance between schools that are restructuring and those that have yet to start.

Restructuring and the Future

For each state, the beginning steps of restructuring are exploratory. This is uncharted territory with no road maps. Inside schools, districts, and state agencies, leaders and educators are learning by experimenting. State policymakers and local educators involved in creating and implementing restructuring efforts are discovering that the process is slower and more complex than they initially anticipated. They are learning that flexibility takes more than a waiver provision, that new kinds of professional development and assistance are essential, and that many parts of the system, including departments of education and district offices, have to make corresponding adjustments in their organizations and roles.

The previous chapter gives a sense of the many different issues state leaders must consider in launching restructuring initiatives. Each state charts a different course. The details of their actions and the order of their steps differ. Yet they all grapple with the same complexity and challenges. Table 2 summarizes the actions each state takes in the process of restructuring.

In every state, schools have responded with enthusiasm and energy to their state's invitation to restructure and have begun to implement significant changes, one step at a time. Schools are experimenting with new ideas grounded in research on learning. They are testing out multidisciplinary courses, teams of teachers and students together for more than one year, courses in which students create projects, new methods of assessment, ungraded classes, and new uses of technology, among others.

School staff are coming up with creative ways to organize time, they are seeking out new sources of knowledge and help, and they are learning by doing and from each other. In the process, teachers and administrators are assuming new roles. Teachers are becoming staff developers, team members and leaders, curriculum designers, student and peer coaches, researchers, and evaluators. Administrators are becoming team members and leaders, teacher coaches, idea sources, resources for teachers, and fund raisers.

TABLE 2
STATE ACTIONS TO LAUNCH RESTRUCTURING

WHAT	HOW
Promote a vision.	Create a vision of the future with help from a task force, consultants, or existing knowledge.
Spread the word.	Hold statewide and regional conferences to inform educators and the public about the problems and define restructuring.
Build statewide support for restructuring.	Maintain regular communication between executive and legislative branches of state government, the business community, and statewide education associations.
Invite school and district participation.	Start small, with a pilot or demonstration project, based on informed decisions to participate.
Provide flexibility.	Offer blanket waivers or provision to request waivers from state rules and assurance of local support.
Provide time.	Acknowledge that restructuring places extra time demands on school staff and that it takes time for the results of restructuring to be visible.
Offer assistance and know-how.	Provide help and new knowledge directly or through brokering and networking.
Begin shifting state role.	Slowly shift state philosophy and behavior from mandates and compliance to goals and assistance.
Focus on results.	Hold schools accountable for meeting their goals for students and align state accountability.
Maintain visibility and focus.	Promote the vision through the media, public relations, and open lines of communication.

Not every "restructuring" school justifies the label. Some schools in each state still maintain a narrow "project" mentality where teachers and administrators have simply adopted the latest trends. Some are continuing inventive changes begun earlier; these find their legitimacy has grown as a result of participation in the state initiative.

There are not many restructuring schools yet, but where there are, teachers and administrators are talking about their jobs differently. They describe themselves as learners and expect to continue learning throughout the rest of their careers. They do not assume that the world has changed and schools must catch up; they assume that the world will continue to change and that restructuring is a way of making their schools more adaptable and responsive to ongoing change.

The Near Future: Expanding the Initiatives

Each state faces two immediate challenges to the future of their restructuring efforts. The first is ensuring broad-based support for the restructuring initiative, from Governors, state board members, chief state school officers, and legislators as well as leaders of associations representing the education and business communities. The second is expanding restructuring throughout the state, which requires even broader support—from the public, the education community, and the business community. Restructuring is difficult enough when there is broad-based support. When it is hampered by partisan politics, intergovernmental competition, or program turf, its future is threatened.

All five states are struggling with the challenge of expanding their restructuring initiatives with limited resources. The Carnegie Schools Program has added two schools, but the department of education will lose two regional offices as a result of drastic statewide budget cuts. In Washington, the legislature has appropriated funds for up to twelve new sites to begin in the fall of 1990. In Arkansas, the department of education invited ninety districts that had met state standards to a fall conference on restructuring with participants representing all stakeholder groups, including the department of education, the legislature, higher education, and state educa-

tion associations. More than 360 participants arrived in teams from interested sites and will consider submitting proposals to become restructured schools.

Maine and North Carolina are moving from pilot sites to a statewide approach. As part of his annual list of changes in statutory language, Maine's Governor will present language to be incorporated in state education law that describes restructuring and provides the commissioner with the authority to waive regulations. This will lay the groundwork for expanding restructuring statewide when the results from the pilot restructuring schools are available to the legislature in the third year. North Carolina's new School Improvement Accountability Act was initiated by the Public School Forum, which drew heavily from the lead teacher pilot. It provides financial flexibility and opportunity for waivers from state regulation for every district that chooses to participate. Schools also can receive additional funds for one of several differentiated staffing plans—including one of their own. Schools must submit an improvement plan and address thirty indicators required by the state board of education. All districts have filed an intent to apply—a number that has grown slowly over a number of months.

States also expect and have seen restructuring ideas spread from school to school. In Massachusetts, one school will devote some of its second-year grant to helping two other schools adopt many of its participatory practices. In one North Carolina county, the lead teacher model has spread to most other schools, supported by the superintendent's enthusiasm. States are sponsoring conferences and networks to spread the word. In Arkansas schools and districts across the state were invited to hear presentations from the first cohort of restructuring schools.

More broadly, the states are looking to the restructuring schools to better understand what changes at the state level will facilitate strengthening public education across the state. In Washington both the Governor and the Legislature are explicitly interested in learning which statutes and regulations are barriers to reform; for example, they are in the process of dropping the Carnegie unit and are moving toward a competency-based system. There is some concern at the state and

district level that key policymakers will see a restructuring effort they judge successful and, misunderstanding the process of organizational change, will mandate it statewide or districtwide, thereby undermining the goals of restructuring.

Maine's strategy is to institutionalize a commitment to restructuring through statutory language that describes the philosophy of restructuring and to eventually provide the needed flexibility and resources statewide. North Carolina has already done so with its recent legislation authorizing funding and flexibility. Arkansas and Massachusetts are taking steps to institutionalize the restructuring philosophy by infusing it throughout other statewide programs in addition to their restructuring initiatives. Coalitions independent of elected and appointed officials, such as the Public School Forum in North Carolina, also play an important role in maintaining long-term commitment to restructuring.

The Long Run: Restructuring the System

Restructuring requires changing many pieces of a complex system at once. Like an interlocking jigsaw puzzle, it is impossible to change one piece without changing the surrounding pieces. The restructuring initiatives described here are a critical beginning. State leaders of these initiatives have successfully captured the attention of key actors across the state and introduced them to the need for and the nature of restructuring. They have succeeded in stimulating new ways of thinking about change inside schools and about leading, managing, and supporting restructuring efforts.

The bigger challenge is stimulating and coordinating movement in all the pieces of the system. Even statewide expansion of the existing initiatives can miss important components—such as teacher preparation and developing the capacity in higher education and state agencies to deliver assistance to schools.

State leaders of restructuring are meeting the complex needs of systemic change head on; they are recognizing that everyone from the classroom to the capitol has to learn new roles that require new ways of thinking and acting. Systemic

change requires reeducating many people—educators, policymakers, and the public. It requires stimulating and coordinating change in multiple elements of a system managed in different ways by different entities, which are often unaccustomed to communicating.

Although no single state restructuring initiative has taken on the whole system, all five states, along with others, are wrestling with one or more of the pieces. Some have taken steps to create instructional goals and reform curriculum, others to redesign assessment instruments and accountability. Some states are taking the lead in new approaches to flexibility or in technology—for example, Washington's Governor has just created a 21st Century Institute for Advanced Technology in the Schools. Others are proceeding in higher education reform. Some examples follow.

Instructional Goals and Curriculum. If what is taught and how it is taught remain unchanged, altering the other pieces of the system will have minimal effect. Some schools in each of the five states have made significant changes in curriculum and instruction. However, the process of moving from a few schools to the whole system cannot rest on an ad-hoc approach where every school recreates its curriculum. States have a critical role to play in setting this agenda as California is doing with its Curriculum Frameworks, and Connecticut is doing with its Common Core of Learning, which leaves curriculum development to local districts.

Assessment and Accountability. At the state and local level, the instruments used to assess performance have a profound effect on what is taught. Such instruments can be a powerful policy tool for communicating curricular goals, higher standards, and a basis for professional development. They can also be helpful in assessing performance if they are designed to measure important learning goals such as applying basic skills, higher-order thinking, and problemsolving. California, Connecticut, and Vermont are creating such authentic performance assessment instruments. These are measures that go well beyond paper-and-pencil tests; they measure significant ideas in an integrated instead of fragmented fashion and require the active participation of students.

Flexibility and Authority. While the opportunity to request waivers plays a powerful symbolic role in communicating a new message to schools, it is less clear that waiver provisions are an effective mechanism for granting significant flexibility to schools. The combination of placing the onus on each school and often bypassing the regulatory role of the district does not necessarily increase flexibility. A few states are beginning to test broader approaches to flexibility; for example, South Carolina's legislation provides broad flexibility automatically to any school earning an incentive award for two consecutive years provided it maintains performance levels.

Professional Training and Development. Restructuring requires significant changes in how teachers and administrators are prepared for their jobs, both before and during their careers. These changes in turn demand parallel restructuring of colleges, universities, state and district staff development offices, and other agencies that provide preservice and inservice training, as well as corresponding changes in licensing standards. Georgia and North Carolina have redesigned administrator preparation programs with an emphasis on leadership and field experiences. Oregon, South Carolina, and Vermont have created new ways of providing ongoing professional development through grants, retraining, and technical assistance.

Beyond Education. The number of children who are raised in poverty, who are born with physiological damage, who are homeless, or who are unable to speak English continues to increase. Even a totally restructured education system cannot solve the problems these children bring to school. Providing these children with the mental, physical, and emotional health prerequisite to taking advantage of educational opportunities requires the combined efforts of educational and social service agencies. Many states are responding to this need by extending educational services to very young children, offering alternative programs for secondary school students, and providing a range of support services for students having difficulty. Wisconsin requires each local school board to annually identify at-risk students and to develop a comprehensive plan to address their needs; Delaware has created a position of Interagency Service Coordinator to integrate educational and social services; West Virginia now requires local systems to develop a coordinated interagency service delivery plan for at-risk youth from birth to age five.

Resources. The task of restructuring an entire system is daunting. But the consequences of avoiding it are catastrophic. The pressure is intensified by the need for speed. Slow piecemeal change will leave our education system in the dust as the speed of change throughout the world accelerates. Once the agenda is set, the greatest aid to rapid change is resources—both financial and technical.

In the five states studied, schools with the most ambitious efforts have tended to be those with the best access to knowledge and assistance as well as the funds to support planning time, training, and consultants.

Where states with restructuring initiatives invested substantial funds, resources were directed in very different ways—for example, purchasing ten days for every teacher in Washington and half-time for lead teachers in North Carolina. These were not investments in "more of the same." And this is the key to resource investment in restructuring.

Restructuring will require more resources, but these resources will have very high leverage because they will increase the productivity of the large sums already invested. If an increase of a few percent in a school's budget results in changing the entire organization and delivery of instruction in that school to improve performance, the return on the investment is incalculably large. Dollars invested in restructuring will have far more impact than their face value.

The goal of restructuring is to fundamentally change the way schools are organized in order to significantly increase student learning. The initiatives described here represent a substantial beginning, as states experiment with some of the tools at their disposal. In just one year, the five states in this study have taken bold steps and, in the spirit of restructuring, have incorporated early lessons into their planning for the future. As these and other states incorporate more pieces of the education system in their restructuring activities, the efforts will reinforce each other and the pace of restructuring will accelerate.

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